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EMANCIPATION AND RESTORATION TO THEIR FATHERLAND.

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CORRELATE DUTIES

OF THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

TO THE

DESCENDANTS OF COLORED PEOPLE

DESIRING TO BE

COLONISTS IN AFRICA.

AN ADDRESS

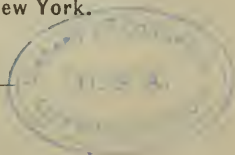
BEFORE THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

JANUARY 20, 1874.

By GEORGE W. SAMSON, D. D., of New York.

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ADDRESS.

All human enterprises which result in great and permanent blessings to mankind begin in the feeble and limited efforts of a few men; they are prompted by convictions that take hold on deep principles of truth and right, which only a few minds of mature experience and free from personal ambition fully conceive; their full and comprehensive operation is retarded often for generations by the imperfect views and selfish spirit common to fallen human nature; but at length they triumph over every obstacle and command the admiration and support of nations and ages.

Such an enterprise is that of the colonization of the African Continent by the descendants of its people, brought two centuries ago to the eastern shore of North America. It is the world's latest and completest development of the law that emancipation of enslaved captives is necessarily coupled with the duty of their restoration to the land of their nativity. This duty, whether the enslaved be a captive taken in war or a bondman forced to labor, grows out of three relations universally recognized among mankind as of binding force: first, the right of the enslaved to the use of the powers God has given him in the home where God placed him; second, the claim set up by nations having the power to enforce it; and third, the united convictions of duty and interest which finally compel the captor and master to acknowledge this right and to yield to its demand.

The law of duty is drawn from the record of what men have thought and done in all ages of human history; and especially in primitive and simple times. All great writers on law and jurisprudence, from Solon to Blackstone, go back alike to Homer and Moses for precedents; to the one because the fiction is reality, being but a picture of human impulses as they show themselves in the actual life of men; the other because the

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faithful chronicle of one nation's experience is but a transcript of the principles ruling all nations.

The principle of equity ruling individual and national duty to bond-servants among Asiatics is set forth in Jacob going back to his father with presents after a service of twenty years, and in the restoration of his descendants from centuries of bondage in Egypt, and afterwards in Assyria, when their masters, enriched by their labor, sent them back to their native land well provided for support in their settlement; and that universal law of recognized obligation is now seen in the stipulations of the Chinese, the Russian, and other governments in Asia, that no subject of theirs shall be removed for foreign service without the guarantee of his return by the employer. That same principle, always and everywhere ruling European mind and action, is pictured in the inexorable law which compelled the final restoration of the captive Helen to her Grecian lord, as it more quickly prompted the return of Briseis with gifts to her Trojan sire; and this law of inseparable connection between emancipation and restoration is still read in the demand on Turkey by the Allied Western Powers that the Greeks, after four centuries of bondage, should be restored both to their freedom and their property rights; it is now pending in the claim of both England and the United States as to the very doubtful case of the *Virginian* captives; and it is read in the order from the Italian Government, this morning published at New York, that children brought to this country by Italian padroni shall be returned before the 15th May to their homes at the cost of their masters.

The point for our consideration to-night is, that this principle is not only binding, but it has been specially recognized as still holding between enlightened and prospered America and benighted and down-trodden Africa. It is our privilege and pride to hail the fact that, in the entire history of our American nation, this principle has been both recognized and controlling; and that the American Colonization Society is its noble monument.

It should be always borne in mind in any survey of what men and nations have said and done, that our Divine Ruler and Redeemer has himself linked the impulses of interest and

duty indissolubly in man's nature; and He *means* that they shall never be severed in the noblest human endeavor, not even in the moral redemption of man. The very law of Heaven is, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" the stimulus to Christian enterprise from the Divine Master's own lip is "an hundred-fold in this world" to him who "forsakes all" to promote His cause; human interests, individual and national, are legitimate appeals to engage in Christian enterprise; commerce is generally the pioneer of Christian missions; and no intelligent mind could have full confidence in the Colonization of Africa by restored natives if in every stage of its progress these divinely linked impulses of interest and duty were not found to be combined in the acts and words of the three parties concerned: the American whites who send the emigrants, the emigrants themselves who go, and the people of Liberia and of the African Continent who urge their claim to colonists.

The suggestions which have led to African colonization can be traced far back into the history of the American Colonies and of the infant nation; and it is worthy of remark that in each step taken American sentiment leads and British philanthropy follows; while both act from interest as well as from duty.

In August, 1773, before the American war, prompted by the desire of some young African slaves to return to their native land as Christian missionaries, Dr. Ezra Stiles, of Newport, R I., afterwards President of Yale College, joined by the celebrated theologian, Dr. Samuel Hopkins, wrote an address on the iniquity of the slave-trade, and proposed the education and sending out of these African youth as "the least compensation we are able to make to the poor Africans for the injuries they are constantly receiving from this unrighteous practice;" to which address responses came in the form of pecuniary contributions both from Scotland and New England. In 1787, the same year that the United States Constitution declared that the slave-trade should cease after twenty-one years, Dr. William Thornton published an address to the free people of color in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, proposing to become the leader of a colony to be settled on the West Coast of Africa.

Shortly after Dr. Hopkins corresponded with Granville Sharpe, of England, making a kindred suggestion; and in 1792, five years later, the Government of Great Britain at great expense transported the negroes captured in the American States during the war of Independence, who had been temporarily supported in Canada, to the new territory obtained for them at Sierra Leone, on the West Coast of Africa. From this day the duty of restoring at public expense the descendants of African captives to their native land becomes a controlling sentiment; which sentiment has not died out from the American breast, and cannot now be stifled except from a mistaken view of the interests and obligations involved.

England, led as America was to be, by united interest and duty, now enters the arena of active enterprise in paying her debt to Africa. The independence of America, cutting England off from a market in the Western World for her manufactures, turned the attention of our worthy ancestors to the East; bringing to her, also to both Asia and Africa, a blessing which a century ago no one dreamed of. For two centuries, from A. D. 1600, the English East India trading enterprise had been secondary to the American colonial; and the supply posts she had planted on the Western and Southern Coast of Africa had been but of temporary consideration. Now, however, that very Cornwallis who lost prestige at Yorktown was called to retrieve his honor in India. Soon extended territory in Southern and Eastern Asia, and in Western, Southern, and Eastern Africa, were gained by Great Britain for commercial purposes; and highways were opened along which English and American missionaries, with their wives and children, were seen pressing, their concord never disturbed even by the war of 1812. *Following America*, successive acts of the British Parliament in 1805, 1807, 1811, and 1824 were passed making the slave-trade first to have a limit, then to be a felony, and last to be piracy. Following again the Northern States, after many years Great Britain in 1834 abolished slavery in her West India Colonies; paying, however, \$100,000,000 as remuneration to the owners. To plant and sustain the Colony of Sierra Leone England expended in 1801 about \$116,000, and in 1802 made an appropriation of \$50,000 over and above the employ of her national vessels for transportation.

The field of movement now shifts to America. In 1800 Virginia, filled with free negroes by the humane acts of Washington and kindred spirits in emancipating their slaves, began to discuss the question of an asylum for them; and Monroe, then Governor of Virginia, and Jefferson, President of the United States, were enlisted. Interest, indeed, but mutual interest, that of the whites and blacks, met and mingled with deep convictions of duty. The Northwestern Territory, made free by Virginia's own act only thirteen years previous, was suggested as that asylum; but the humanity of those true friends of the colored people forbade the selection of a home so inclement and so exposed to white aggression, especially from the French Canadians. Under date of December 27, 1804, Mr. Jefferson suggested their incorporation with the English Colony of Sierra Leone, since the British Government had proposed to deliver up this Colony to home rule. Under date, again, of January 21, 1811, after he had ceased to be President, Mr. Jefferson, replying to an appeal of an Association of Friends who were urging from humanity African colonization, refers to his former suggestion as to Sierra Leone, against which objection had arisen, and adds: "You inquire whether I would use my endeavor to procure such an establishment, secure against violence from other powers, and particularly from the French? Certainly I shall be willing to do anything I can to give it effect and safety. * * * Nothing is more to be wished than that the United States themselves would undertake to make such an establishment on the Coast of Africa." Mr. Jefferson's suggestion as to Sierra Leone, he states, arose from the fact that the Colony was mainly made up of "fugitives from these States during the Revolutionary war;" and the obligation of the State of Virginia and of the United States to make pecuniary appropriation for this purpose admits no discussion in the mind of this strict constructionist.

The era for the rise of the American Colonization Society had now dawned. At the meeting for its organization, December 21st, 1816, Hon. Henry Clay, in an opening address, referred to three interests it sought to promote: first, that of the colored people; second, that of the whites of America; and he added as a third, "the moral fitness of restoring to the

land of their fathers" these exiles, since, said he, "if we can thus transmit to Africa the blessings of our arts, of our civilization, and our religion, may we not hope that America will extinguish a great portion of that moral debt which she has contracted to that unfortunate Continent?" He cited the Colony of Sierra Leone, planted by England, as an example both of the principle and of the promise for its fulfillment. Mr. Caldwell, who followed, referring to the expense which would necessarily attend it, said that there could hardly be a difference of opinion as to the fact that every section of the United States was alike interested and indebted; that it was "a great national object and ought to be supported by the national purse;" since, as Mr. Clay had declared, "there ought to be a national atonement for the wrongs and injuries which Africa had received."

The memorial sent, in accordance with this view, to Congress, was responded to by a report closing with two resolutions, which contained the following recommendation: that stipulations be obtained from Great Britain and other maritime powers, both for the suppression of the slave-trade, and also "guaranteeing a permanent neutrality for any colony of free people of color, which, *at the expense* and under the auspices of the United States, shall be established on the African Coast;" to which was added, "*Resolved*, That adequate provision should be hereafter made to defray any necessary expenses which may be incurred in carrying the preceding resolution into effect." After some delay, from pressure of other business, Congress, on the 3d March, 1819, appointed an agent on the Coast of Africa to receive and colonize recaptives taken in slave ships. The sloop-of-war *Cyane*, with a merchant ship in convoy, and subsequently several vessels of war, were at the public expense employed in this service of national obligation. As it was now apparent that a nucleus of trained negroes was essential to the colony, who might be instructors and supporters of the almost helpless recaptives, Mr. Monroe interpreted the law just passed by Congress as necessitating the sending of select American negroes liberated by philanthropic masters for this mission, and also as providing for the buying of lands and the furnishing of other supplies necessary;

and thus in its equity the United States began to act on the principle of duty recognized in other lands and ages.

Eight years after this, in 1829, when twelve State Legislatures had united in commending the Colonization enterprise, Hon. Henry Clay addressed the Society of his adopted State, Kentucky, in that masterly speech of more than an hour in length, which did more than any single effort ever made to bring our country to view rightly the question of slave-emanipation as a moral law which was inevitably sooner or later to rule; while, too, the same speech gave the clear forecast of the provision for the emancipated which, sooner or later, our nation must make, or suffer the penalty of violated law. He refers to the fact that, in the council of diplomats assembled at Ghent, to form the treaty which fixed the relation of the new American States to the various States of Europe, a British jurist admitted the superior fidelity shown by the American States toward weak and dependent Indian tribes and African slaves; their acts, both before and after their independence, standing out in striking contrast to the course not only of Spain and France but even of England herself. He dwelt on the fact that as soon as they had the power, they carried out in good faith their remonstrances with the mother country against the slave-trade; providing in their very Constitution for its cessation as soon as previous British property guarantees to investments made in the traffic could be legally canceled. He argued that the humanity which controlled the mass of slaveholders not only permitted but encouraged manumission and provision for emancipated slaves; and declared that the day was not distant when interest and duty would unite to secure universal emancipation. He showed that the competition of white labor, which had driven the colored people of all the free States into obscurity, was now acting in Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky; and that humanity as well as national indebtedness demanded the most studious consideration on the part of American statesmen as to their future provision. He pointed to the recognition of this duty witnessed in churches, especially among Christian women, but also in the acts of the Legislatures of more than half of the States of the Union and in the enrollment among the members of the

Colonization Society of "some of the most distinguished men of our country in its legislative, executive, and judicial councils." He urged that nothing but the substitution of white for colored laborers in the Southern States would give them the prosperity of the North; that the return of the exiles of Africa, properly trained and provided, would bring the blessings of peace, prosperity and happiness to the teeming populations of two continents; with the union of freedom and republican institutions as a heritage to millions of their descendants. He hailed the enterprise as the fulfillment of the mission of the World's Redeemer and of the aspirations of his ardent and pious disciples to regenerate the two continents still left in heathenism. As to the expense incurred, he showed from careful estimates that one million of dollars applied annually for sixty or seventy years, less than \$75,000,000, paid as a national debt, would restore all the exiles to the land of their ancestry. Such a strain of eloquence has seldom fallen from the lips of any orator of ancient or modern times; such a tracing of the moral law of duty could never have been resisted, except by selfish cupidity, in any age; every point of its great argument has been intensified in each succeeding decade of American history since; if listened to in the day of its utterance, the words of Him who spake as never man spake would have been verified to the very letter, that the man and the nation true to God's law of righteousness towards the captive "shall receive an hundred-fold" for his fidelity; and if now, when that hundred-fold has been entered on the other side of the balance-sheet, and has been more than paid in the expense of the late war—if our nation and its people determine to do the duty that must be met towards the freed people of our country, they may save the generations soon to struggle for the mastery in the competition for life on our continent—they may save this last refuge of the needy—another accumulation of a debt that at a hundred per cent. of annually accruing increase must some day be fully paid. With a single allusion to the concurrent testimony of other statesmen of that day, we may pass to a glance at the proof of this still pending event revealed to the forecast of that generation of great men and of devoted lovers of their country and of the world.

Two years only after this speech of Mr. Clay, when his spirit, though a southern man, was awakening a counterpart in South Carolina nullification, at the annual meeting of the Colonization Society, held at Washington, and crowded by members from both Houses of Congress, letters from both ex-President Madison and Chief Justice Marshall were read. Mr. Madison, with pen tremulous with age, wrote: "The Society had always my good wishes;" and after stating the difficulties in its accomplishment, he meets the chief obstacle to colonization, the attendant expense, with a suggestion worthy of the State as well as of the nation which had so worthily honored him; in which suggestion the philanthropist towers above even the patriot, and yet much more above the sectionalist and the political bigot. "In contemplating," writes he, "the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the western lands of the nation; which will soon entirely cease to be ours, under a pledge for another object. The great object in question is truly of a national character; and it is known that distinguished patriots, not dwelling in slaveholding States, have viewed the object in that light, and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it. Should it be remarked that the States, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the colored population, are not equally so, it is but fair to recollect that the sections most to be benefitted are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of." Chief Justice Marshall's letter, by a marked law of common sentiment called forth at a common crisis, makes the same suggestion as to the public lands first made by Senator King, of New York, whom Madison, amid the spirit of nullification, calls a "distinguished patriot;" he says that this fund, ceded to the General Government without restriction as to its use by different States and chiefly by Virginia, is less exposed to those constitutional objections which are made in the South;" and he concludes, as one inspired by the experience of 1832, with a vision of the scenes of 1862: "The whole Union would be strengthened by this act and be relieved from a danger whose extent can scarcely be estimated."

Forty years have passed since Madison and Marshall thus wrote and when Clay spoke for the ages with almost inspired forecast. And to-day how stand the three parties who in all ages have agreed that an emancipated captive must be restored with gifts, or the offended deity, the lawgiver of justice and equity, will not be appeased!

Let us glance a moment, first, at the white race, holding with tenacious grasp the soil, the foundation of all individual and national wealth; which the red man, appealing to Heaven, declares was his by ancestral heritage; and which the black man, since the war, has verily believed was to be portioned out among the race that had for two centuries tilled it for usurping landlords. He who sits above has demanded, as of the Trojan heroes refusing to agree in surrendering a stolen captive, hecatombs of human sacrifices, not less than one million of America's choice sons, two-thirds of them from the States that least recognized the debt which fathers impose on the estates they bequeath. He has exacted in the war expenditure an hundred-fold of the sum asked for by Mr. Clay thirty years before as adequate both for the emancipation and the return of the captives; and He has yet more cut off from our land, our ports, our ocean commerce, by an *indirect tax*, not recognized by human tribunals, but by a higher law *extorted*, a thousand-fold more than the sum contemplated by the statesmen of 1832. And now into our States come pouring literally hordes of the Old World, swarming our States, Massachusetts and South Carolina alike, as the Goths over Italy, ruling New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis as Attica and Alaric and Theodoric dominated Rome; and who supposes that this mass can be ruled by equity; aye more, that new lords may not seize on our inheritance, when equity towards the black man is not shown! We may well take up the warnings of both Madison and Jefferson, of Clay and Jackson, in 1832; for the utterances of those aged statesmen of the past century are not to be treated as the excited imaginations of a moment! They were the calm, compelled counsels of the truest friends of humanity when about to meet their own account as American leaders.

The second vital consideration, then, is, "What is justice and

equity to the colored race?" Three *home* proffers have been made! Have they brought the relief needed?

The first promised was *homesteads*. Gen. Patrick, the first Provost Marshal General of Virginia, a devout Christian of the Presbyterian church, as well as an able and spotless commander during the war, was obliged to restrain, by force, mistaken friends alike of the colored man and of their country, who told the people just freed alike from slavery and from military control, that their master's lands were to be divided up among them, and that the Government would provide them mules and implements for farming. Not the first acre has yet been given them; and no man in our country believes this would either be for the colored man's interest or justice to the white population; unless it be a revival of the idea of 1832—the devotion of the lands now lavished in railroad grants, to the furnishing of African colonists as payment of the national debt long due to them!

Then *labor* was proffered; and with promises of a proportion of the crops, a large portion of the colored people went confidently to their toil. But crops failed, necessarily; for the soil was exhausted; the laborer was unsteady and unskilled; two or three years impoverished proprietors and left laborers to starve; and all Government could do was to provide transportation to new and remote lands far south.

Then came the *ballot, eligibility to office, and the Civil-rights Bill*, upon which we will not dwell.

Turning now to Africa, what opens before us! How wonderful the changes the last twenty-five years have wrought; as if to prepare that continent to be the mission-field, the land of promise, the Caanan of rest to this weary, jostled, outrun and dispirited people. Herodotus tells us of an Egyptian colony sent into Ethiopia, whose influence so advanced them that they at length made an effectual conquest of Upper Egypt, where, in the city of Thebes, they for some generations took on Asiatic culture; and Bunsen has indicated that this was the very era when David wrote, "Ethiopia shall *soon* stretch her hands unto God." Strabo, four centuries later, tells how Greek youth of Cyrene trained themselves for years to explore successfully the upper waters of the Nile; modern readers of Liv.

Livingstone's researches can compare the records and see that the ancient explorer passed over the track of the modern pioneer; Ptolemy's map, published a century after Christ, fixes the sources of the Nile just where Livingstone now places them, ten degrees south of the Equator; Grecian influence so penetrated Central Africa that the Ethiopian treasurer of Queen Candace, as Luke's record indicates, was reading the Greek translation of the Hebrew Isaiah; and the Greek language so influenced the dialects of the far interior as to appear in the vocabulary of the Yoruba people, living within the bosom of the Niger, as the late Smithsonian publication plainly indicates. Ten or twelve centuries yet later, the Arabian followers of Mohammed penetrated from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, south of the Great Desert; and so effectually have they impressed their religious convictions, that amulets containing passages from the Koran are found on the necks of slaves carried to South America from the Western Coast of Africa.

Three forms of ancient civilization have thus found the African mind susceptible to their impress. It remains to ask whether another, and that a far higher, may not take its place.

Twenty-five years ago the encroachments of Persia and of Russia towards India began to give serious fears to English statesmen and merchants that the day might be hastened when India would be entered from both the West and the North, and when Great Britain's monopoly of its trade would come to an end. From that day, as not only her open acts but the confidential intimations of her agents have declared, the Continent of Africa has been singled out as the field of her explorations and of her intended future commerce. The settlement at Cape Coast Castle, on the south, has extended far up the Eastern Coast to Natal, and even to Zanzibar, and back into the interior to the diamond mines. From the Strait at the mouth of the Red Sea, British exploring agents excited the jealousy of Abyssinia; till six years ago the Abyssinian war made the road to the interior, through that Christian kingdom, a highway for English merchants. Within a few years, the island of Lagos, nigh the mouth of the Niger, was

seized ; and since that time loans from British capitalists to Liberia for roads to the interior indicate a policy leading to a monopoly of the commerce of Africa from that side. About five years ago, after the persevering interior explorations of the missionary Livingstone, followed by scientific and military leaders like Barth, Speke, and Baker, the latter, Sir Samuel Baker, with his wife and an armed escort of 1,500 Egyptian soldiers, bearing on the backs of bullocks three river steamers, whose parts were to be put together on the Nile above all obstructions, whence the inland lakes could be entered, has successfully planted a central commercial and military settlement, whence roads will be kept open to the Mediterranean on the North, to the Red Sea on the East, to the Atlantic on the West, and to Natal, if not Cape Coast, on the South. The last act of this concentrated conquest is now proceeding in the invasion of the territory of the Ashantees, whose subjugation will be the prelude to the submission of all the interior tribes.

And what inevitably must succeed to this commercial occupation? Unquestionably, just as from India after British occupation came a cry that reached England as well as America, and made Christian missionaries meet, even amid the war of 1812, as brothers in arms in a higher service, to herald Christ on "India's coral strand," so now from "Africa's sunny fountains" already comes the kindred call. What means it that Arthington was dreaming of an inland settlement back of Liberia, and that he sent to the American Colonization Society for choice Christian colored men to lead it? Was the mind that penned that letter possessed by a fancy? or did a grand reality almost frenzy his appeal? Which sees farthest, the self-sacrificing philanthropist or the interested man of the world, as to the colored man's lofty mission for the world, as well as his only hope for his family and kindred? Let two or three of their own number declare.

In Richmond, Virginia, some twenty-five years ago, a mulatto youth, of sprightly mind and liberal home-education, gifted as a herald of Christ, longed to go and preach to his countrymen in Africa. His master gave him his freedom; the Mission Society of his native South gave him a salary; the Colonization ship granted him a passage; and for years he was an

efficient missionary in Liberia. When our civil war closed he came from Africa to visit his kindred, and to tell American freedmen of the land where they were not only freemen but nobles without rival; to pledge a farm to any family as the gift of the Liberian Government; and to thrill American Christians with the picture of spiritual harvest-fields ripe for the sickle, in the land where Egyptian science, Grecian art, and Mohammedan superstition were to be supplanted by the pure Christian faith. The voice of Rev. Mr. Hill rang at a large public convention in New York with eloquence that surprised and captivated; for his theme had inspired the man. He came to the Executive Committee of the Colonization Society at Washington, and on their behalf procured a passage to Liberia for any who would go. He was met by the romantic fancies of farms, and College education, and public offices, which dazzled the vision of his colored brethren. Towering like Moses before Israel when hesitating on the borders of Egypt, he exclaimed, "Be assured, in all that you are *justly* receiving from the American people, you are only borrowing the jewels of your old masters to bear them to the land of promise!" Every day since that appeal the mist has dissipated that was before his hearers' eyes; and now some of them see their mistake.

Some thirty years ago a tall, swarthy, but high-browed African, whose grandfather was seized in the interior of Africa as a captive from a cultured tribe, was displaying in Kentucky great power as a Christian preacher. At his desire his owner gave him his freedom, and he went as a missionary to Liberia. He disappeared from the Colony for years; but early during the civil war found his way back to America to rehearse his story and ask aid in his new work. Rev. Mr. Herndon had found his ancestral tribe; he had become a chief among them; he had won them to the Christian faith; he had allied them to the Liberian Republic; and now he sought means to rear a house of worship, with a Sabbath bell to ring forth its melody in a valley that never heard such music. He secured his desire; he returned to his field; and now he is at once Liberian judge in his district and a crier for the Judge of all the earth.

Some six years since, Robert Arthington, of Leeds, Eng-

land, gave £1,000 sterling, to plant a settlement of select Christian families, as the first of a cordon back of Liberia, which he hoped might some day girdle the continent. The chosen band were found in North Carolina and brought together at Portsmouth, Va. At the farewell meeting their Christian leader exclaimed, in his parting address, "Thank God for American slavery! But for it I should have been born a heathen and could never have been Christ's herald to my countrymen in Africa." Just at that crisis the multiplying and earnest requests to be sent to Liberia led one of the Executive Committee of the Colonization Society at Washington to urge their claim to Government transportation by land, if not on the sea, upon the members of the Senate and other officers of the Government, who had it in their power to promote the claim. The appeal was met with the statement, "Oh! we want these select people here as laborers and as voters!" The question was asked in reply and pressed home—"Senator, General, are you not liable to be as selfish as you thought the slaveholders were ten years ago?" The appeal went home to Christian minds and American hearts! The train of facts presented in this address of to-night led Senator Fessenden, lately Secretary of the Treasury and at that time Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, to pledge himself as a leader in the effort to secure the same appropriation, \$100 each, for the ocean passage of freedmen, which the Government for years had paid for recaptives sent to Liberia. His death shortly afterwards cut short this mission.

During the administration of President Buchanan, a slaver, called the "Wanderer" ran into Savannah, Georgia, freighted with slaves captured from a superior tribe of tradespeople in the interior of Africa. While the Secretary of the Navy was arranging for the return of these people to Africa, under the auspices of the Colonization Society, the people were scattered through the Gulf States. About ten years later, some six years ago, a missionary from Central Africa, Rev. Mr. Phillips, was addressing a large audience of colored people on the customs of the Yoruba people in Central Africa, when an unusual attention was observed in a cluster of finely formed, intelligent people, in the rear

of the house. To illustrate their language, the missionary repeated the Lord's prayer in the Yoruba tongue; when an irrepressible cry of delight came from this attentive band. At the close of the service they came pressing their way to the missionary, and in their native tongue told him the story of their capture, their dispersion at Savannah, and of their present freedom and their longing for home. He spoke of the Colonization Society; and they begged that they might be sent to Africa. Their case was named; the funds of the Society, consecrated to pay the passage of emigrants to Liberia alone, was more than absorbed for such applicants; and these captives, now asking return under American law, are yet unredeemed! To whom does their restoration belong! From whom is the passage money back to Africa for any captive yet unrestored due, but from the entire American people! Is it not time, when philanthropic individuals are giving colleges and sugar-mills, schools and tools to African colonists, and when Mission Societies are sustaining heralds of the Gospel for Africa's redemption,—is it not time for the American people and its Government to pay their *honest debt*, in giving transportation home to any applicant, and that *charity* be left to its appropriate work?

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